

Consumer Masculinity Ideology: Conceptualization and Initial Findings on Men's Emerging Body Concerns

Abstract

Men's body concerns have been increasing in recent decades, as contemporary men express what had almost exclusively been feminine concerns over body appearance. Although traditional masculinity can account for some body concerns, it cannot fully explain their increased prevalence or changing forms. This project examines recent shifts from a production-centered to a consumerist culture, and suggests that this societal change manifests in the emergence of a consumer masculinity ideology. We argue that this new ideology, in which proper masculinity is established, communicated and validated through consumption, is instrumental in explaining men's contemporary body concerns. We provide initial empirical support for the utility of this construct in samples of predominantly ethnic majority, heterosexual, and highly-educated British and Israeli men ($N=191$, $M_{\text{age}}=33.57$, $SD_{\text{age}}=10.24$; $N=185$, $M_{\text{age}}=36.05$, $SD_{\text{age}}=11.88$, respectively) . In both samples, a preliminary measure of this ideology, the Consumer Masculinity Inventory (CMI), mostly confirmed the predicted associations with measures of traditional masculinity and materialist values, as well as with men's behavioral investment in personal aesthetics and self-labeling as metrosexual. Generally supporting the hypotheses, CMI scores also uniquely predicted most indices of men's body concerns (e.g., self-objectification, drives for muscularity and leanness) beyond measures of traditional masculinity and materialist values. Additionally, CMI scores partially mediated the predictive contributions of traditional masculinity to these body concerns. These preliminary findings highlight the potential contribution of this novel conceptualization and operationalization for psychological research and practice. Future research should thus consider the impact of consumer masculinity on the well-being and body concerns of contemporary men.

Keywords: consumer masculinity, body shape, body concerns, traditional masculinity, metrosexual

Concerns

In recent decades men have paid growing attention to their appearance and started manifesting body concerns formerly considered to be primarily feminine (Barlett, Vowels, & Saucier, 2008; Blond, 2008; National Eating Disorders Association, 2015). Even as extensive research has investigated men's dissatisfaction with their bodies, its prevailing point of departure has been attitudes associated with traditional masculinity (e.g., De Jesus et al., 2015; Griffiths, Murray, & Touyz, 2015; Holmqvist Gattario et al., 2015; Parent, 2013). Traditionally, men have treated their bodies as machines, whose function is paramount (Jeleniewski Seidler, 2007; Mishkind, Rodin, Silberstein, & Striegel-Moore, 1986). This emphasis on body functionality comes at the expense of attention to the male body's appearance and health (Rosenmann & Kaplan, 2014). Thus, while traditional masculine norms are reasonable antecedents of men's desire for greater body functionality (e.g., its increased muscularity; McCreary, Saucier, & Courtenay, 2005), they cannot alone account for concomitant increases in concerns over body appearance (e.g., in terms of self-objectification; Daniel, Bridges, & Martens, 2014) and visible markers of body health (e.g., desire for leanness; Smolak & Murnen, 2008). This raises the possibility that an alternative masculinity ideology may underlie men's contemporary body concerns.

This plausibility is reinforced by the understanding that masculinity is a normative social construct, and thus depends heavily on the cultural-historical context in which it emerged (Levant, 1996; Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1993). Within every social context, masculinities are plural, as men are afforded different socially constructed options of what it means to be a man. Nonetheless, these options are not equal, but rather are ranked along a hierarchy of dominance. Men who are willing and able to adhere to dominant notions of masculinity generally enjoy the greatest access to social resources, both tangible and symbolic (Connell, 2005). In this vein, the so-called traditional masculinity ideology "was the dominant view before the emergence of second wave feminism in the late 1960s and 1970s and remains to some extent the dominant form today" (Levant & Wong, 2013, p. 329). By treating traditional masculinity as

the only available form of masculinity ideology, much of the psychological research on the male body has disregarded its inherent dependency on macro social structures, which have changed considerably since the 1970s.

To address this caveat, we introduce the concept of consumer masculinity as an emergent form of masculinity ideology, in line with the consumerist turn of contemporary culture (Rosenmann & Kaplan, 2014). Because of the wider shift in post-industrial societies¹ from production to consumption, earlier gendered divisions of production as masculine and consumption as feminine have diminished (Alexander, 2003). Within this context, “masculinity” itself has become branded as a consumer lifestyle, much in the same way femininity was co-opted decades ago (Alexander, 2003). We thus introduce consumer masculinity as a new set of masculinity norms, and present preliminary empirical support for its predictive utility with regard to men's body concerns and engagement in high-risk body practices.

Conceptualization of Consumer Masculinity

As a form of ideology, consumer masculinity is an idealized account of how men should lead their lives as men, rooted in particular worldview (Levant & Wong, 2013; Pleck et al., 1993). Whereas the norms of traditional masculinity reflect the values of industrial societies such as rationality, instrumentality, and productivity (Jeleniewski Seidler, 2007), the norms of consumer masculinity are shaped by the post-industrial age in which consumption, rather than production, has become the crux of selfhood and identity (Dittmar, 2011). In this societal context, individuals' meaning-making is framed by the fluctuating interplay of marketing endeavors and consumer responses (Arnould & C. J. Thompson, 2005), and men's sense of masculinity becomes contingent upon buying the "right" products and displaying the "right" lifestyle. Consumption hence takes on functions previously held by other social institutions (e.g., the workplace, organized religion), such as granting a sense of existential security and self-worth (Shachar, Erdem, Cutright, & Fitzsimons, 2011). Likewise, self-expression is channeled into consumption of products and lifestyles, which in turn provide opportunities for the validation of individual uniqueness and social membership, and through both of these, enable the enactment of social status (Holt, 2002).

Because masculinity is itself a tenuously held social position and an achieved status that requires constant validation (Vandello, Bosson, Cohen, Burnaford, & Weaver, 2008), it seems especially susceptible to this wider consumerist turn and its ever-shifting demands. The social mooring of the masculine self in performances of consumption hence necessitates awareness of up-to-date consumer trends and branded signals, which in turn requires continuance exposure to media depictions of referent manhood (Alexander, 2003; Tan, Shaw, Cheng, & Kim, 2013). Media outlets constantly create and disseminate images associated with specific consumer choices (Arnould & C. J. Thompson, 2005; Dittmar, 2011), and put forward discernable lifestyle options for men to choose from and identify with. This is particularly evident in the proliferation of lifestyle magazines (in print and online) for the “new and improved” man (Hall & Gough, 2011). While appealing to different market-segments, these magazines all enshrine different niches of consumer masculinities, and are in the business of selling it (Alexander, 2003).

It was within the privileged, distinctively cosmopolitan market-segment typified by the “international businessman” that the notion of consumer masculinity first emerged (Connell & Wood, 2005). Because the language of consumerism has become a truly global vernacular (Rosenmann, Reese, & Cameron, 2016), media outlets often emphasize the global appeal of new consumer trends and emerging masculine lifestyles (Tan et al., 2013). Accordingly, consumption of global lifestyle media served as an index for emerging strands of consumer masculine behavior in one empirical study (Conseur, Hathcote, & Kim, 2008).

This *consumer masculinity* is thus defined as the structuring of who and what men should ideally be by the aforementioned axioms of consumer culture, according to which proper masculinity is established, communicated and validated through various modalities of consumption. These performances of consumer masculinity utilize symbolic options devised by marketers, which are then presented and interpreted by media outlets targeting men's referent groups. Because of the dynamic nature of these symbols, men are expected to be aware of consumerist trends relevant to their social position, and utilize them appropriately. Proper consumer masculinity is hence achieved by combining brand

images and markers of lifestyle choices to cultivate a unique personal aesthetics of manhood that supports men's claims for group affiliation, social status and individual distinction.

While specific consumerist choices are contingent on a particular social class worldview (Liu, Colbow, & Rice, 2016), the process by which masculinity becomes defined by performances of consumption does not, and applies equally to the masculinities of widely different referent groups. It underlies the consumer choices of underprivileged urban youths who display baggy pants and extravagant "bling" as part of their intersectional racial and masculinity identities. Similarly, it captures the trend-conscious adaptation of this "Hip-Hop lifestyle" by affluent teenagers in Hong-Kong who wish to signify their rebellion against traditional Chinese values (Callier, 2016), as well as the very different performances of consumption exhibited by well-coiffed, middle-class American men (Barber, 2008). Stated more generally, even though the coupling of an identity and a specific brand symbol is always tentative and context dependent, within consumerist societies, the need for such an association remains constant and largely uncontested (Holt, 2002).

This conceptualization of consumer masculinity ideology is novel and distinguishable from the well-established construct of materialist values. *Materialist values* are defined as "the importance ascribed to the ownership and acquisition of material goods in achieving major life goals or desired states" (Richins, 2004, p. 210). People who subscribe to these values assign great weight to possessions as signs of success, view them as central to individuals' sense of purpose and well-being (Richins & Dawson, 1992). Despite this construct's proven utility, it does not capture the profound changes to the mooring of the self and identity brought about by the deepening of consumerism (Belk, 1988), or their consequences for gender ideologies. While men who endorse consumer masculinity ideology can be expected to also hold materialist values, the latter does not address the structuring of their gendered self through trend-conscious performances of consumption.

The construct of consumer masculinity is also distinct from that of traditional masculinity. While both are ideological frameworks of how the masculine self is to be structured and judged, their content is markedly dissimilar. The content associated with traditional masculinity (e.g., Levant et al., 1992;

Mahalik et al., 2003; Luyt, 2005; E. H. Thompson & Pleck, 1986) include themes such as: (a) assertion of masculine status, (b) emotional restraint and self-reliance, (c) toughness, aggression and risk-taking, (d) avoidance of femininity and effeminacy, and (e) non-relational attitudes toward sexuality. While diverse and rich, these themes do not directly overlap with those of consumer masculinity. Nevertheless, the traditional masculine pursuit of social status seems to most closely align with our conceptualization, in that consumer societies are distinctly classist and enshrine a myth of upward social mobility (Rosenmann et al., 2016). The mainstay of marketing efforts thus appears to focus on a specific, idealized male consumer with middle-class sensitivities (e.g., exhibiting social status through the leisurely cultivation of class-appropriate personal aesthetics; Barber, 2008). Furthermore, the resources (in terms of money, time, and attention) needed to secure this proper consumption require a certain degree of affluence that is unavailable to men of more limited means.

Unlike the emphasis on status inherent to traditional masculinity, however, consumer masculinity does not focus on the pursuit of social status *per-se*. Instead, we described a process whereby the masculine self becomes entwined with the dynamics of consumption, which subsumes a host of self-pursuits. Within this framework, social status may very well depend on specific consumer signals, but so do many other aspects of selfhood (e.g., self-expression, identity validation, individual distinctiveness and social membership). Obviously, these varied self-pursuits predate consumer masculinity ideology: what is new is the way they manifest through the performance of proper consumption. Conversely, those who lack the means to enact such performances of consumption successfully may be unable to achieve proper masculinity. With regard to this ever-present possibility of exclusion (Liu et al., 2016), consumer and traditional ideologies of masculinity are similar indeed.

In summary, we have described the emerging ideology of consumer masculinity, which applies the axioms of consumer culture to the ideological structuring of the masculine self. Through these performances of consumption, contemporary men establish, communicate and validate their positioning within the hierarchy of masculinities (Connell, 2005). Because consumer culture invites consumers from different social ranks to respond and aspire to its marketed ideals, its messages pervade all sections of

society (Arnould, 2007; Holt, 2002). In this sense, the reach of consumerism and consumer masculinity seems to be less class specific than materialist values, and possibly less dependent on social class than has been noted for the status subcomponent in measures of traditional masculinity (Liu et al., 2016).

Consumer Masculinity and the Male Body

Unlike the relative dearth of attention to consumer masculinity ideology within academic psychology, marketing specialists have more extensively studied this “new breed of male consumers” (Tuncay, 2006, p. 312), which gained particular visibility with the advent of the “metrosexual” label in the late 1990's. This label denoted an up-and-coming urban heterosexual man who is an unapologetic consumer of body related products and services sold by the beauty, fashion, body-modification and spa industries (Simpson, 1994). Metrosexuals partake in hedonistic, conspicuous consumption of commodities previously considered strictly feminine or effeminate: the metrosexual body is meticulously groomed and adorned with “fashion forward” clothing and accessories (Clarkson, 2005; Shugart, 2008). This personal aesthetic of the male body and its presentation thus became an important showcase for the refined, consumerist man (Simpson, 1994). According to this new worldview the ideal male body is lean (Smolak & Murnen, 2008) and healthy-looking (C. J. Thompson & Hirschman, 1998). It also sports heavy muscularity intended not to exert physical strength as in traditional masculinity, but as an aesthetic ideal (Daniel et al., 2014). Thus, in clear departure from the precepts of traditional masculinity, the male body is no longer defined solely as an instrument or machine (Mishkind et al., 1986), but also as an object whose external appearance is paramount (Rosenmann & Kaplan, 2014). In line with this objectified view of the male body (Daniel et al., 2014; Oehlhof, Musher-Eizenman, Neufeld, & Hauser, 2009), the ideals to which it must conform have become increasingly strict and exacting, and failure to meet these ideals has become a source of increasing distress (Barlett et al., 2008; Blond, 2008).

Studies provide indirect support for the relationship between themes associated with consumer masculinity and the proliferation of men's body concerns. In some recent examples, awareness of pertinent media trends was linked to the contingency of men's overall sense of personal worth on their appearance (Conseur et al., 2008), and the internalization of media-portrayed body ideals predicted men's

greater preoccupation with their muscularity, thinness and leanness (De Jesus et al., 2015). Similarly, recent experimental studies have shown that men's dissatisfaction with their bodies increase after exposure to media depictions of idealized male bodies (e.g., Galioto & Crowther, 2013). Furthermore, endorsement of materialist values, another core feature of consumerism, was linked to the internalization of the muscular body ideal, which jointly predicted men's body concerns (Guðnadóttir & Garðarsdóttir, 2014).

The Present Research

By proposing consumer masculinity as a complementary ideology to traditional masculinity, the current project aims to re-anchor changes in men's body concerns within the broader cultural shifts towards consumerism. Specifically, aim of the current project is twofold: (1) to introduce consumer masculinity as a significant construct for the study of men's contemporary body concerns; and (2) to present initial empirical support for this construct's significance and predictive utility vis-à-vis these body concerns, above and beyond previously measured effects of traditional masculinity and materialist values.

In order to further these goals we present a preliminary measure of consumer masculinity ideology, the Consumer Masculinity Inventory (*CMI*), which taps content related to this emerging form of masculinity. Items that might blur the conceptual line between consumer masculinity and materialist values measured by existing scales were not incorporated into the CMI. CMI items were also designed without any reference to the male body (including clothing or appearance) so as not to confound consumer masculinity with men's body concerns, which are measured through other instruments (see details below). In Study 1 the CMI was administered to a sample of British men and subjected to initial structural and criteria validation. This study also provided an initial test of the associations between CMI and internalization of male body ideals. A replication of structural and criteria validation followed in a sample of Israeli men (Study 2). In both studies, we also administered an abbreviated version of the Material Values Scale (Richins & Dawson, 1992), as well as a multifaceted measure of traditional masculinity. This was done to account for the associations between these variables and the CMI, while testing its discriminant validity. Notably, the studies' samples were drawn from two markedly different

societies, which nonetheless are highly globalized and thus shaped by post-industrial consumer culture (Rosenmann et al., 2016). Hence, cross-validation of the CMI in these samples might be taken as a preliminary indication of its utility as a measure of global trends in masculinity ideology. Study 2 also included direct measures of men's emerging body concerns, as well as a novel measure specifically designed to disentangle motivations centering on body functionality vs. body appearance.

Study 1: Consumer Masculinity and Body Ideals in British Men

This study was designed as an initial empirical investigation of consumer masculinity ideology, its relationship with previously established concepts (materialist values, traditional masculinity ideology), as well as its relevance to the growing interest in men's body ideals and concerns. Given that consumerism is a dominant feature of post-industrial societies (Kasser, Cohn, Kanner, & Ryan, 2007), consumer masculinity should not be understood as a radical challenge to the existing gender system or to traditional masculinity ideology. Instead, consumer masculinity contemporizes male dominance to better fit the norms of consumer culture and should thus be positively associated with indices of traditional masculinity. Specifically, the pursuit of social status, a subcomponent of traditional masculinity ideology (Pleck et al., 1993), was expected to be most predictive of endorsement of consumer masculinity. Diverging from traditional masculinity's dictates, however, men's increasing behavioral investment in their personal aesthetic, which was epitomized by the metrosexual self-label (Simpson, 1994), are important correlates of consumer masculinity (Conseur et al., 2008), providing external criteria for the validation of the CMI.

These set of considerations and predictions were formalized in the following hypotheses:

Hyp(1). Greater endorsement of materialist values, as well as the status attainment subcomponent of traditional masculinity ideology, should predict greater endorsement of consumer masculinity.

Hyp(2). Greater endorsement of consumer masculinity should predict higher behavioral investment in personal aesthetics, and higher self-labeling as metrosexual.

Hyp(3). Greater endorsement of consumer masculinity should predict internalization of a thinner, more muscular ideal body shape and greater overall body shape discrepancy.

Hyp(1) was tested while controlling for demographic variables (age, educational level and marital status), which were found in previous studies to predict endorsement of non-traditional masculinity ideologies (Kaplan, Rosenmann, & Shuhendler, 2016). Hyp(2) and Hyp(3) were tested while controlling for these demographic variables, as well as materialist values and the subcomponents of traditional masculinity.

Method

Participants. As part of a larger project, British men were approached through online social networks and student unions and invited to participate in a study designed "to explore men's attitudes and various lifestyles". Men who clicked through to the study site ($N = 331$) were asked to give their informed consent for anonymous participation in this university approved study. Participants then indicated if they were indeed men, over the age of 18 and currently living in the UK. Those who were ($N = 229$) proceeded to the survey, of whom 191 men (83%) responded to all CMI items, and were thus included in the final sample.

This final sample was highly educated (85% had an academic degree), and consisted mainly of young adults ($M = 33.57$, $SD = 10.24$) who were not married or in a civil partnership (54%). The sample was also overwhelmingly white (95%) and heterosexual (89%). Because some participants declined to answer demographic items ($n = 23$), the sample included in the analyses fluctuated between $N = 191$ (in the factor analyses) and 168 (in analyses controlling for demographics).

Measures and procedure. Unless otherwise stated, all questionnaire responses were on 5-point Likert scales (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*), and the order of items within measures was randomized. The measures are listed below by order of presentation.²

Consumer masculinity ideology. We identified initial content associated with consumer masculinity ideology as part of a broader investigation of non-traditional masculinity ideologies. The initial mapping of themes was based on a review of the literature, a series of 24 semi-structured interviews with informants adhering to non-traditional masculine lifestyles, and two focus groups with gender studies students (see Kaplan et al., 2016). Our aim was to probe for novel content associated with

alternative masculinity ideologies rather than create an ad-hoc inventory of attitudes that simply contradict traditional male norms. These themes were then culled in accordance with our initial decision to avoid content that pertained to the male body, its adornment and care, as well as areas of convergence with measures of materialist values.

In light of this working definition, existing consumerist scales were assessed, and several which tap relevant content, without mentioning specific brands, product categories or media-outlets, were identified (e.g., Bearden, Netemeyer, & Teel, 1989; Cleveland & Laroche, 2007; Conseur et al., 2008; Eastman, Goldsmith & Flynn, 1999; O'Cass, & McEwen, 2004; Strizhakova, & Coulter, 2013). Items derived from the qualitative study described above, or adapted from existing scales were re-/written by the authors in Hebrew, and followed the normative approach to measurement of masculinity ideology (Luyt, 2005; Pleck et al., 1993; E. H. Thompson, Pleck, & Ferrera, 1992). Specifically, (a) items were oriented with "men" as their subject, and written in prescriptive terms (what men should be like), while avoiding descriptive language (what men actually are); (b) items referred to male standards only, rather than comparing men to women; (c) items were written in the third-person rather than as first-person statements as to confine responses to normative views while avoiding direct evaluations of self.

The resulting inventory of 6 items was translated and back-translated³ from Hebrew to English and was administrated in Study 1. In this study, a single item ("A man who cares about being fashionable or trendy is actually just showing himself to be a conformist") was omitted after preliminary inspection found negligible corrected item-total correlation ($r < .01$). As this was the only reverse scored item, in the final 5-item version of the CMI, all items were positively coded (a common occurrence in cross-cultural adaptation of scales; e.g., Glick et al., 2000). The final CMI (see Table 1) included items tapping the consumer turn of masculine selfhood (e.g., "Men should use the things they own to communicate to others who they are and who they want to become"), as well as the consumerist emphasis on trend-consciousness (e.g., "Men should follow the media closely to keep on top of what's in style"); $\alpha = .76$.

Materialist values. Three items from the abbreviated Material Values Scale (Richins, 2004) were administered to measure the centrality of materialist pursuits to individuals' happiness. These items

("Buying things gives me a lot of pleasure"; "I like a lot of luxury in my life"; and "I'd be happier if I could afford to buy more things") demonstrated liminal internal consistency; $\alpha = .65$.

Behavioral investment in personal aesthetics. In 2 open-ended items (adapted from Conseur et al., 2008) participants were asked to indicate the number of grooming products used daily ("How many different toiletries do you use daily (deodorant, hair products, skin lotion, etc.)?"), and the number of shoes worn in public in the last week ("How many different pairs of shoes did you wear in public last week?"). These items represent two distinct types of behaviors related to the cultivation of personal aesthetics (grooming of the body and fashionable presentation), and were successfully utilized in previous studies (Kaplan et al., 2016). Answers were recoded into quartiles to normalize response distributions and equalize range. The two items were then averaged to create a composite score ($r = .31, p < .01$).

Metrosexual self-labeling. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they defined themselves as "metrosexual" on a 1 to 5 scale anchored by *not at all* and *completely*. Alternatively, respondents could indicate that they lacked familiarity with the term or its exact meaning.

Traditional masculinity ideology. The Male Role Norm Scale was administered to assess various facets of traditional masculinity ideology (MRNS; E. H. Thompson & Pleck, 1986). The MRNS, a relatively short measure of traditional masculinity, consists of three subscales: Status (6 items, e.g., "success in his work has to be man's central goal in this life"; $\alpha = .84$), Toughness (13 items, e.g., "a real man enjoys a bit of danger now and then"; $\alpha = .90$) and Anti-Femininity (7 items, e.g., "it bothers me when a man does something that I consider feminine"; $\alpha = .87$).

Body shape ideals and discrepancy. A graphic measure, the Bodybuilder Image Grid, was used to measure internalization of male body shape ideals and body shape discrepancy (Frederick et al., 2007; Hildebrandt, Langenbucher, & Schlundt, 2004). This measure depicts 30 sketches of the male form, varying in fatness (by columns) and muscularity (by rows). While viewing these sketches, participants were asked to first indicate their actual body shape and then the body shape they would ideally like to have. This measure thus provides an assessment of men's internalization of the body shape ideal (expressed as the chosen figure's ranking in terms of fatness and muscularity), as well as their body shape

discrepancy (the distance between the chosen actual and ideal figures⁴). In previous studies, this relatively oblique assessment of body ideals and discrepancies has demonstrated considerable temporal stability (Frederick et al., 2007; Hildebrandt et al., 2004).

Demographic questionnaire. In addition to the eligibility criteria described above, participants were asked to indicate their ethnic group, sexual orientation, marital status, age and educational level (recoded into three categories: no academic degree, undergraduate degree, and graduate degree). After concluding the survey (duration: $Md = 19$ minutes) participants were debriefed and thanked.

Results and Discussion

Exploratory factor analysis. In order to tentatively test the discriminant validity of the CMI, its items were entered into an exploratory factor analysis alongside all items from both MRNS and materialist values measure. A parallel analysis (Principal Axis, 1000 random permutations of the dataset) indicated the extraction of the expected 5 non-spurious factors. This 5 factor solution (Principal Axis Factoring; Oblimin rotation) accounted for 56.40% of the shared item variance, and resulted in all CMI items uniquely loading (between .47 and .71; see Table 1) on a single factor, with no substantial cross-loading ($\leq .23$) on any of the other factors. No other item loaded substantially on this factor ($\leq .25$). In particular, there was no indication of convergence between CMI items or their aggregated factor and any of the MRNS factors or items ($\leq .20$). While exploratory, these results supported the unified structure of the CMI, and its differentiation from both traditional masculinity and materialist values.

TABLE 1

Hypothesis testing. After this initial structural validation of the CMI, its associations with other variables were examined. Zero-order correlations (see Appendix A) cursorily demonstrate the predictive utility of the CMI, which correlated (at least marginally) with every other variable, while outperforming any of the MRNS subscales.

In order to test Hyp(1), a hierarchical regression model was constructed to predict CMI scores by participants' age, educational level and marital status (1st block), and the three MRNS subscales as well as materialist values (2nd block)⁵. Inclusion of the 2nd block improved prediction, and supported Hyp(1)⁶, in

that greater endorsement of MRNS_{Status} and materialist values predicted higher CMI scores.

Unexpectedly, greater endorsement of MRNS_{Anti-Femininity} was marginally predictive of higher CMI scores as well (see Table 2).

TABLE 2

Hyp(2) was tested by two hierarchical regression models predicting behavioral investment in personal aesthetics and self-labeling as metrosexual (see Table 3). These regressions included the same 2 blocks as the Hyp(1) model, as well as a 3rd block which contained the CMI. For behavioral investment in personal aesthetics, this 3rd block improved prediction, with CMI demonstrating the expected positive association with this behavioral indicator. MRNS_{Anti-Femininity} had a contrary, negative marginal association with this measure. With regard to self-labeling as metrosexual⁷, the 3rd block likewise improved prediction, yielding a positive association between CMI and self-labeling as metrosexual alongside a negative association between it and MRNS_{Toughness}.

TABLE 3

Overall then, the CMI performed well in this British sample. It demonstrated the expected structure in terms of discriminant validity (its unique factorial loadings and modest associations with the other scales) and convergent validity (its prediction by the status subcomponent of traditional masculinity and materialist values). It was further validated by its unique predictive utility vis-à-vis the external criteria of metrosexual self-labeling and behavioral investment in personal aesthetics (Conseur et al., 2008). These findings lend preliminary support for the CMI and provide tentative affirmation of consumer masculinity's conceptualization as a unified cluster of male norms associated with a heretofore unexplored masculinity ideology that is distinct from both traditional masculinity and materialist values.

Importantly, consumer masculinity was not theorized here as the rejection of traditional masculinity. Instead, we argue that it reproduces the dominant position of traditional masculinity by reorienting male norms toward the emergent dictates of consumer culture (Connell, 2005; Connell & Wood, 2005). In line with this conceptualization, endorsement of consumer masculinity was uniquely and positively predicted by the traditional masculine pursuit of status. Unlike earlier conceptualizations of

consumer masculinity as a progressive, more gender egalitarian manhood (Clarkson, 2005), endorsement of consumer masculinity was moreover marginally predicted by greater emphasis on a masculine negation of femininity. Thus, beneath this more refined visage of consumer masculinity, the importance attributed to masculine distinction and dominance seems to remain unchanged.

Finally, associations with body shape ideals and discrepancy (Hyp(3)) were tested with the models presented in Hyp(2). With regard to ideal body shape fatness, the 3rd block marginally improved prediction. In this model, CMI trended as a negative predictor of ideal body shape fatness (i.e., greater ideal thinness), replacing the earlier contribution of materialist values (rendered non-significant). MRNS_{Status} and MRNS_{Toughness} additionally trended as positive and negative predictors, respectively (Table 4, Panel A). Regarding ideal body shape muscularity, inclusion of the CMI (3rd block) failed to improve prediction, leaving MRNS_{Toughness} as the only significant predictor (Table 4, Panel B). Finally, with regard to body shape discrepancy, inclusion of the CMI again failed to improve the prediction⁸, leaving materialist values as the only positive predictor (Table 4, Panel C).

TABLE 4

To summarize, the current investigation yielded inconclusive results with regard to men's body ideals. Partially confirming expectations, endorsement of consumer masculinity was marginally predictive of a thinner ideal body shape, supplanting materialist values. While links between traditional masculinity or materialism and the muscular ideal were previously reported (e.g., Frederick et al., 2007; McCreary et al., 2005; Guðnadóttir & Garðarsdóttir, 2014), internalized ideal of thinness was largely overlooked. Furthermore, previous work probing associations between traditional masculinity and other operationalizations of men's increasing desire for thinness (e.g., Smolak & Murnen, 2008) show a great deal of variability, with some reporting robust associations (e.g., Holmqvist Gattario et al., 2015) and others contradicting these findings (e.g., Griffiths et al., 2015). In our perspective, male body thinness is intrinsically linked to the dictates of contemporary consumerism, which has not been measured in previous studies. Because dieting and weight loss are considered feminine preoccupations unbecoming of

(traditional) men (Elliott & Elliott, 2005), the application of this consumerist lens to an alternative masculinity ideology seems warranted.

Supporting this line of reasoning, different components of traditional masculinity predicted conflicting weight ideals. This perhaps calls attention to the confusion voiced by contemporary men regarding the proper bodily pursuits of those who endorse traditional masculinity (Elliot & Elliot, 2005). Moreover, this complex pattern of findings is also suggestive of the enmeshment of materialist values, a non-gendered indicator associated with consumer culture, with contemporary men's body concerns (Guðnadóttir & Garðarsdóttir, 2014), through concomitant consumer changes in masculinity ideology. This possibility of mediation is systematically explored in Study 2.

Finally, the null association between CMI and overall body discrepancy ran counter expectations. While the consumerist emphases tapped by materialist values did predict greater discrepancy, it remains unclear why these did not carry over to the more proximal construct of consumer masculinity. The results concerning CMI and ideal body muscularity were not reliable either. Although the literature suggests that both body functionality and appearance underlie men's desire for a muscular body (Frederick et al., 2007), only the traditional emphasis on masculine toughness emerged as a unique predictor. Materialist values and CMI scores were no longer significantly associated with ideal muscularity once $MRNS_{Toughness}$ was entered into the equation (i.e., unlike their significant zero-order correlations; Appendix A). This is possibly because $MRNS_{Toughness}$ includes items directly probing men's desire to be bigger and tougher (e.g., "I think a young man should try to become physically tough, even if he is not big.") whereas both CMI and materialist values contained no such mentions. A second study was conducted to replicate and further elucidate this mixed pattern of results.

Study 2: Consumer Masculinity and Body Concerns in Israeli Men

Whereas Study 1 lent initial support to the proposed conceptualization and measurement of consumer masculinity, it only equivocally supported hypotheses regarding men's body concerns. Study 2 was thus conducted to cross-validate the structural findings regarding the CMI in a sample of Israeli men, as well as to test its relationship with men's emerging body concerns in a much more fine-grained

manner. In addition to the graphic measure used in the first study, Study 2 included direct measures of men's body concerns.

These first included a measure of self-objectification in men. Long associated with intensification of consumerism, self-objectification, or coming to view one's body from a third-person perspective, entails a shifting of priorities away from body functionality and towards body appearance and presentation (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). In this sense, self-objectification is a radical departure from men's traditional form of engagement with their body (Franzoi, 1995), as they increasingly embrace what was once a distinctly feminine perspective (Rosenmann & Kaplan, 2014). We suggest that traditional masculinity is not, in and of itself, associated with self-objectification. If, however, masculinity is infused by consumerist regard of the body as an aesthetic object to be judged by others, self-objectification could follow. These opposing vectors would account for the contradictions between studies reporting on the growing trend of self-objectification among men (e.g., Daniel et al., 2014; Oehlhof et al., 2009; Parent & Moradi, 2011), and others finding little evidence for this phenomenon (e.g., Calogero & Jost, 2011; Frederick et al., 2007; Fredrickson, Roberts, Noll, Quinn, & Twenge, 1998).

In the objectifying context of consumer culture, men who want to perfect their body aesthetics express motivational drives for muscularity and leanness (Smolak & Murnen, 2008). These intertwined drives often have deleterious effects on men's mental and physical health (e.g., Parent, 2013), as in the spreading use of anabolic steroids which toughen the male body, while simultaneously causing it grave harm (Parent & Moradi, 2011). Because anabolic steroids boost both the visibility of muscularity and actual physical performance (Parent & Moradi, 2011), their use does not disentangle body functionality from body appearance or by extension the priorities of traditional from consumer masculine preoccupations. To make this distinction, we assessed interest in a fictitious drug (*Musclux*), which was presented as augmenting the visibility of men's muscularity, without actually making them functionally stronger. To mimic reality, this drug was further described as having significant, potentially life-threatening, health risks.

Thus, Study 2 was designed to differentiate the body dictates of traditional masculinity from those of consumer masculinity. In this way, it could resolve theoretical and empirical inconsistencies regarding the connection of traditional masculinity with men's emerging body concerns (Rosenmann & Kaplan, 2014). We posited that traditional masculinity would be associated with consumer masculinity, and through its mediation, with men's contemporary body concerns.

Hyp(1_a). The measurement model specifying the CMI as a unified construct that is distinct from both materialist values and traditional masculinity should be confirmed.

Hyp(1_b). Greater endorsement of materialist values, as well as the status attainment subcomponent of traditional masculinity ideology should predict greater endorsement of consumer masculinity.

Hyp(2). Greater endorsement of consumer masculinity should predict higher behavioral investment in personal aesthetics, and higher self-labeling as metrosexual.

Hyp(3). Greater endorsement of consumer masculinity should predict: (a) internalization of a thinner, more muscular ideal body shape and a greater body shape discrepancy; (b) stronger drives for muscularity and leanness; (c) greater interest in the fictitious drug described as augmenting the visibility but not functionality of muscularity; and (d) greater self-objectification.

Hyp(4). Endorsement of consumer masculinity should mediate any effects of traditional masculinity on internalization of body shape ideals, as well as the measures of men's body concerns (i.e. the variables listed in Hyp(3)).

Hyp(1_b) was tested while controlling for the pertinent demographic variables (age, educational attainment and marital status). Hyp(2), Hyp(3_{a to d}), and Hyp(4) was tested while controlling for these demographic variables, materialist values and the subcomponents of traditional masculinity.

Method

Participants. Through social networks, online communities and Israeli student unions, men were invited to participate in a study of "men's attitudes and choice of lifestyle" ($N = 309$) and requested to give their informed consent. Participants who consented and indicated they were indeed men over the age of 18 and currently living in Israel ($N = 231$) proceeded to the survey, of whom 185 men (80%)

responded to all CMI items, and thus were included in the final sample. This final sample was again highly educated (79% had an academic degree), and consisted mainly of young adults ($M = 36.05$, $SD = 11.88$) who were not married or in a civil partnership (60%). Most respondents self-identified as Jewish Israelis (92%) and as heterosexuals (87 %). Because some participants declined to answer demographic items ($n = 17$), the sample included in the analyses fluctuated between $N = 185$ (in the confirmatory factor analysis) and 168 (in the hierarchical regressions).

Measures and procedure. All the measures were administered in Hebrew. Unless otherwise stated, all questionnaire responses were on 5-point Likert scales (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*). The order of items within measures was randomized, and the measures were administered by order of presentation.

Participants first responded to the battery described in Study 1: the 5-item *CMI*, $\alpha = .71$ (see CFA below); the 3 *materialist value* items, $\alpha = .53^9$; as well as the *MRNS* (E. H. Thompson & Pleck, 1986) adapted in a previous study (Kaplan et al., 2016); α 's = .70, .82, & .83 (for Status, Toughness, and Anti-Femininity subscales, respectively). Next, they rated the figure measure of *body shape ideals and discrepancy*, and indicated their *behavioral investment in personal aesthetics*¹⁰ as well as *metrosexual self-labeling*.

Additional measures not included in Study 1 were then administered:

Self-objectification was measured by the "Male Assessment of Self-Objectification" (Daniel et al., 2014), as the difference between importance ratings of items tapping male body aesthetics vs. body functionality. A self-objectification score was calculated as the mean of the 7-item functionality subscale ($\alpha = .85$) subtracted from the mean of the 13-item aesthetic subscale ($\alpha = .86$). Men's attitudes towards the target muscularity of their bodies and motivational drive to achieve it were assessed next by the *Drive for Muscularity* scale (e.g., "I feel guilty if I miss a weight training session"; McCreary & Sasse, 2000); $\alpha = .81$. A stronger drive for muscularity has repeatedly been linked with endorsement of traditional masculinity (McCreary et al., 2005), poorer mental health outcomes and problematic body-modification behaviors (McCreary, Sasse, Saucier, & Dorsch, 2004; McCreary et al., 2005). Given the increased

societal attention to body-fat as a health hazard and the consumerist considerations detailed above, many contemporary men also desire a lean body with low fat to muscle ratio. *Drive for Leanness*, a 6-item attitudinal measure indexing this aspiration (e.g., "When a person's body is hard and firm, it says they are well-disciplined"; Smolak & Murnen, 2008), was thus administered; $\alpha = .84$.

After these scales, demographic information was requested, and in an ostensibly separate marketing study, a novel procedure was administered. A fictitious new drug, 'Musclux', was described as greatly increasing the volume (and hence visibility) of men's muscularity, while not influencing actual muscle strength. A boxed warning indicated several potentially life-threatening side effects (see Appendix B). After reading this description, participants were asked three questions assessing their *interest in 'Musclux'*: "How interested would you be in trying this new drug?"; "How interested would you be in participating in clinical trials for this drug in Israel?"; and "How much would you be willing to pay a month for this drug?". Responses to the first two questions ranged from 0 = *not at all interested* to 10 = *very interested*, and the third question was open-ended. Not surprisingly, the majority of the participants (between 66% and 78%) indicated no interest in 'Musclux' on some or all the questions, resulting in highly non-normal distributions (skewness > 4.52; kurtosis > 25.65). To correct for this, while also standardizing response modalities, items were recoded as binary (no interest vs. any non-zero level of interest) and then averaged; $\alpha = .72$. After completing the survey, which again took less than 20 minutes, participants were thanked, debriefed, and informed of the deception regarding 'Musclux'.

Results and Discussion

Confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) and comparisons between samples. The second study allowed for a more rigorous assessment of CMI's discriminant validity and structure. We conducted a CFA to cross-validate the factorial structure reported in Study 1, according to which the CMI forms a unified construct, distinct from both the MRNS and materialist values. In this confirmatory analysis (see Appendix C), consumer masculinity, materialist values and the MRNS (subdivided into its lower-order subscales) were defined as structurally covarying latent factors, each indicated by its respective items. To offset the moderate sample sizes, MRNS items were parceled (retaining subscale divisions). The CFA

furthermore allowed for the formal testing of this structure's equivalence across samples by comparing a constrained model (in which measurement weights, structural weights, and structural covariance were set to be equal between samples) with an unconstrained model (in which the parameters were free to vary between samples).

This confirmatory analysis supported the proposed measurement model. The model fit these data adequately, with all items significant loaded onto their assigned latent factor ($p < .01$). There was also support for the model's cross-sample equivalence, as the constrained model did not differ significantly from the unconstrained model (see Appendix C for complete details).

We next conducted an ad-hoc comparison between these samples of British and Israeli men to explore possible differences in body shape ideals. In this analysis, age, marital status and educational level were entered as control covariates and sample was defined as the independent factor in a MANOVA predicting fatness and muscularity of the actual and ideal male body shape, as well as body shape discrepancy. While this analysis yielded a significant multivariate effect for sample, this effect was not due to body shape ideals which did not differ between these samples of men (see Appendix D for complete details).

The current study, therefore, did not detect differences between British and Israeli men's body ideals. While these two cultures are very different one from another, what they seem to share is exposure to the contemporary dictates of consumer culture associated with post-industrial societies. Although systematic cross-cultural examinations are needed, this finding directs attention to the possibility of a global process of consumer homogenization (Tan et al., 2013), where men from different backgrounds internalize similar body aspirations, which are ubiquitously presented in today's consumer cultures (Dittmar, 2011). This process of consumer homogenization has been implicated in the global proliferation of men's body concerns (see e.g., Parent, 2013, for a partial review).

Hypothesis testing. Appendix E details the M , SD and zero-order correlations of the major variables. Hyp(1_b) was tested by the same model introduced in Study 1: CMI scores were predicted by participants' age, educational level and marital status (1st block), and the three MRNS subscales as well as

materialist values (2nd block)¹¹. Inclusion of the 2nd block improved prediction, and yielded a significant final model¹², in which greater endorsement of materialist values and MRNS_{Anti-Femininity}, but not MRNS_{Status}, predicted higher CMI scores (Table 5). A post-hoc model in which materialist values were entered separately (as a 3rd block) indeed showed that MRNS_{Status} positively predicted of CMI scores ($\beta = .20, p = .04$), but that this association became non-reliable ($\beta = .09, p = .36$) once materialist values were entered.

TABLE 5

As before, Hyp(2) was tested by hierarchical regression models in which a 3rd block (containing the CMI) was added to the previous model. For behavioral investment in personal aesthetics, the 3rd block improved prediction with CMI scores emerging as the sole predictor. With regard to self-labeling as metrosexual, the 3rd block similarly improved prediction¹³: MRNS_{Anti-Femininity} had a negative association with this self-label and CMI had the expected positive association (Table 6).

TABLE 6

Overall, these results supported most predictions specified in Hyp(1 & 2). The measurement model positioning the CMI as a distinct construct from both traditional masculinity and materialist values was supported again, suggesting its structural stability across these samples. Somewhat departing from predictions, however, CMI scores were reliably predicted only by MRNS_{Anti-Femininity} and materialist values. MRNS_{Status} did not contribute in this model, because of its shared variance with materialist values. Nonetheless, the current study fully replicated CMI's unique associations with both metrosexual self-labeling and behavioral investment in personal aesthetics.

After this retesting of the CMI structural and criterion validity, additional models examined its predictive value with regard to men's body shape concerns. First, we tested predictions regarding men's internalization of the body ideal. The associations detailed in Hyp(3a) were not supported for ideal body fatness, as neither the 2nd nor the 3rd blocks significantly improved prediction, $F's \leq 1.91, p's > .17$. Nor were expectations confirmed for ideal body shape muscularity or with regard to body shape discrepancy: in both cases, inclusion of the 3rd block was not indicated, $F \leq 2.09, p's > .15$. Similar to Study 1, ideal

muscularity was predicted by MRNS_{toughness} (albeit in a non-significant overall model), and body shape discrepancy by materialist values (Table 7).

TABLE 7

These regression models were employed to test CMI's prediction of the more direct measures of men's body concerns (Hyp.3_(b-d); Table 8). The model predicting drive for muscularity was significantly improved by the 3rd block¹⁴ (Panel A), where CMI scores alone predicted higher drive, while outperforming any of the MRNS subscales, whose zero-order correlations became non-significant. Regarding the drive for leanness, the final model again included a significant contribution by CMI, and a diminished, albeit still significant, contribution by MRNS_{toughness} (Panel B). Inclusion of the 3rd block was indicated with regard to interest in 'Musclux' as well, where CMI predicted greater interest in this potentially hazardous (fictitious) drug, as did MRNS_{status} (even though to a lesser extent than its previous contribution; Panel C)¹⁵. Finally, the prediction of self-objectification was significantly improved by the inclusion of the 3rd block. Beyond the contribution of the demographic controls, only CMI scores and materialist values predicted greater self-objectification¹⁶ (Panel D).

TABLE 8

The mediation hypothesis (Hyp(4)) presupposed that both the MRNS subscales (included in the 2nd block) and CMI scores (in the 3rd block) would contribute significantly to prediction of body concerns. These conditions were met for the drive for leanness, and for interest in 'Musclux'. These variables were thus subjected to PROCESS bootstrap mediation analyses (v. 2.13; 5000 bootstrap samples, 95% *CI*; Hayes, 2013), specifying the pertinent MRNS subscale as the predictor, and CMI as the mediator (controlling for all other variables as they appear in Hyp(3) models). These analyses confirmed that CMI partially mediated the effect of MRNS_{toughness} on the drive for leanness (Figure 1), as well as MRNS_{status} on interest in 'Musclux' (Figure 2). Regarding the drive for muscularity, the contribution of MRNS_{toughness} was already subsumed by the inclusion of materialist values, suggesting that both materialist values and CMI scores serve as mediators of this effect. Analysis indicated that the significant total effect found for MRNS_{toughness} ($b = 0.17$, $SE = 0.08$; $t = 1.98$, $p = .05$) indeed included an indirect effect through sequential

mediation via materialist values and the CMI, as well as through the CMI alone. This mediation was complete, rendering MRNS_{toughness}'s direct effect non-significant (Figure 3).

FIGURE 1

FIGURE 2

FIGURE 3

In summary, while this study failed to replicate findings linking CMI with body shape ideals or discrepancy, it did yield converging evidence for the predictive utility of this variable with regard to men's emerging body concerns. Firstly, CMI scores, but none of traditional masculinity's facets, predicted greater self-objectification – arguably the core of men's emerging forms of engagement with their bodies (Rosenmann & Kaplan, 2014).

Moreover, whenever measures of traditional masculinity contributed significantly to predictions of men's body concerns, these effects were mediated, at least partially, by the CMI. Replicating previous findings (e.g., Smolak & Murnen, 2008), the more men endorsed traditional masculinity, the greater was their drive for leanness. This established association, however, was partially mediated by CMI, which also improved the overall prediction of this potentially harmful drive. With regard to the drive for muscularity, its established associations with traditional masculinity (McCreary et al., 2005) dropped to non-significance by the inclusion of materialist values, and finally, were overtaken by CMI scores, thus indicating a full mediation effect. Lastly, interest in 'Musclux' likewise was uniquely predicted by CMI, and through its partial mediation, also by the emphasis in traditional masculinity on attainment of male status. We deliberately presented 'Musclux' as a visible augmentation of body muscularity but not of body functionality. Perhaps because of this emphasis on the pursuit of an apparent but empty marker of bodily strength, the MRNS status subscale took the fore. Importantly, for a sizable minority of men in this sample, these pursuits seemed to override concerns over life-threatening health risks.

General Discussion

The current research represents the first step toward establishing consumer masculinity as a construct of relevance to contemporary men's lifestyles and changing forms of engagement with their

bodies. We presented the CMI, a preliminary measure of consumer masculinity, and generally found support for its structural and discriminant validity as regards components of traditional masculinity and materialist values in both British and Israeli men. These studies also cross-validated its association with external criteria, including reports of actual behavioral investment in personal aesthetics and self-labeling as metrosexual, both of which were previously conceptualized as indicators of consumer masculinity (Barber, 2008; Conseur et al., 2008; Shugart, 2008). Through use of this novel (albeit preliminary) measure, consumer masculinity ideology was incorporated for the first time in an empirical investigation.

As expected, the CMI positively correlated with all subcomponents of traditional masculinity. However, in Study 1 it was uniquely predicted by the MRNS status subscale and (marginally) by the anti-femininity subscale, whereas in Study 2 it was predicted by the anti-femininity subscale alone, given that the contribution of the status subscale was already nullified by the inclusion of materialist values. Taken together, these findings support the contention that consumer masculinity subsumes earlier masculinity norms associated with masculine dominance. Moreover, this consumerist update is no longer associated with femininity or effeminacy (as was perhaps the case in earlier periods; Clarkson, 2005; Shugart, 2008). In fact, it seems to have become so thoroughly naturalized that men who position traditional masculinity as the antithesis of femininity (i.e. score high on the anti-femininity subscale) endorse this ideology more strongly. This perhaps marks the ascendance of consumer masculinity to a non-problematized, dominant position within contemporary masculinities, and hence part and parcel of the wider, patriarchal gender system (Connell, 2012; Connell & Wood, 2005).

Contrarily, metrosexual self-label was negatively predicted by facets of traditional masculinity (toughness in Study 1, anti-femininity in Study 2) but positively by consumer masculinity. This may suggest that this label, but not the actual ideology of consumer masculinity, has become "tainted" by radical, non-traditional connotations of masculinity.

The body ideals associated first with metrosexuality, however, have endured within this emergent consumer masculinity ideology. Overall, the CMI demonstrated its predictive utility with regard to men's body concerns, which largely surpassed commonly used indices of traditional masculinity. This was the

case even though the CMI contains no mention of the male body or its presentation, unlike the measure of traditional masculinity.

First, endorsement of consumer masculinity predicted in Study 2 men's objectifying prioritization of body appearance over functionality. It appears, then, that self-objectifying tendencies, previously discussed almost exclusively in relation to women (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997), are now introduced to men through consumer masculinity ideology. Second, scores of measures explicitly probing the dual drives for muscularity and leanness were uniquely predicted in Study 2 by endorsement of consumer masculinity, which furthermore exceeded the contributions made by the traditional masculine demand for toughness. These dual drives often motivate behaviors that help design the male body, at the expense of men's health and wellbeing (e.g., Griffiths et al., 2015). Third, in order to assess this willingness to forgo health risk solely for the sake of body appearance, we introduced a fictitious drug that enhances the body's muscular exterior (but not its functionality) while incurring substantial health risks. Interest in this drug was again predicted by endorsement of consumer masculinity, which in turn mediated some of its association with the status attainment subcomponent of traditional masculinity. This is suggestive of the increasing role that body appearance plays for men's perceived success and in keeping with a transformed social reality whereby outer appearances do matter a great deal to individuals' social standing (Dittmar, 2011).

However, endorsement of consumer masculinity only partially mediated the associations between components of traditional masculinity and the drive for leanness or interest in 'Musclux'. Thus, it appears that the current operationalization of consumer masculinity did not adequately capture all the variance associated with this theoretical construct. Moreover, while different factor analytic procedures demonstrated the discriminant validity of the CMI as regards materialist values, it was the latter that for example predicted body shape discrepancy. This suggests that these two constructs are still not sufficiently differentiated.

The studies described here have important limitations, then. Our conceptualization and operationalization of consumer masculinity draws on studies conducted predominantly in English-

speaking countries, as well as on our qualitative work with relatively affluent and Westernized Jewish-Israeli men (Kaplan et al., 2016). Furthermore while scholars have certainly described how attitudes and behaviors consistent with consumerism and/or consumer masculinity spread as processes of globalization intensify (Dittmar, 2011, Kasser et al., 2007; Tan et al., 2013), cross-cultural research is called for to systematically examine the global appeal of consumer masculinity. Relatedly, consumerist choices and masculinity ideologies are contingent on questions of social-class (see Liu, Soleck, Hopps, Dunston, & Pickett, 2004) that were not directly addressed in the current research. Further refinement of the proposed measure should thus also take social class worldviews into greater consideration

As we detailed above, however, there is reason to believe that consumer masculinity ideology pervades contemporary post-industrial societies relatively evenly. This finds preliminary support in an auxiliary analysis (see Appendix F), which found that CMI scores did not correlate with any demographic variable in either sample. This contrasts with the expected correlations found between specific demographics and materialist values as well as traditional masculinity scores. We believe this reflects the relative context-independency of consumerism as an axiomatic tenet of contemporary ideological infrastructure, which is now propagated globally (Rosenmann, et al., 2016). Moreover, consumer masculinity may be less class specific than other indicators of consumerism, such as materialist values. Because materialist values focus on what should be desired, they are content specific; appealing to those who have a certain social-class world-view, but not to others (Liu et al., 2016). Consumerism, on the other hand, is more about the "how" psychological needs are met (i.e. through performances of proper consumption) than the "what" of the actual act of consumption. Correspondingly, consumer masculinity is about the process through which masculinity is reified, as opposed to a preoccupation with specific consumerist content or brand consumption. Because of this non-specificity, men can refer to very different brands and consumer choices, but nonetheless equally endorse consumer masculinity ideology. These claims need to be addressed by future studies as well.

Future studies should additionally note that the current project employed a correlational design that cannot support a causal interpretation of associations, as well as convenience samples, which are not

representative of British or Israeli men, let alone "men" generally. It is also noteworthy that some of the predictions, especially regarding CMI and men's body ideals, were disconfirmed, or failed to replicate across samples. These indices, based on ratings of the Bodybuilder Image Grid (Hildebrandt et al., 2004) may call into question its sensitivity in capturing the variance between normative mesomorphic male figures (cf. Frederick et al., 2007). In addition, some men may experience unease in attending to their bodies or the male figure more generally (Elliott & Elliott, 2005; Gill et al., 2005) and thus rush through this measure without paying adequate attention. Because this discomfort is likely linked to the dictates of traditional masculinity, it could potentially undermine the validity of this measurement. Additionally, the measure of materialist values failed to demonstrate sufficient reliability, requiring further replication as well.

Conclusion and Implications

While traditional masculinity has long been implicated in men's risky and health-hazardous body practices, these risks seem to be changing forms and increasing in recent decades (Parent, 2013). The current studies aimed to relate the observed intensification of men's body concerns to a deeper shift within masculinity ideologies, as consumer masculinity establishes itself as a dominant form of contemporary masculinity (Rosenmann & Kaplan, 2014). Although some have heralded these shifts in masculinity ideologies as the advent of a "new man," who is more gender egalitarian and healthier in both mind and body (e.g., Clarkson, 2005), this does not seem to be the case here. Far from challenging the privileged status of men, consumer masculinity seems to reproduce the hierarchical implications of traditional masculinity, by contemporizing them with consumerist content.

Because masculinity is dependent on constant external validation (Vandello et al., 2008), it is particularly vulnerable to the pressures of consumer culture, which mandates continuously engagement in visible performances of consumption (Arnould & C. J. Thompson, 2005). Among those who endorse consumer masculinity ideology, failure to achieve consumerist goals (due to lack of actual or cultural capital) may also damage their sense of masculine self. Even men who meet the requirements for proper, socially-sanctioned consumption are subjected to the combined insecurities of consumer selfhood

(Dittmar, 2011) and dominant masculinity (Levant, 1996). Such insecurities seem to emerge with respect to the male body, where consumer masculinity narrows the range of acceptable male bodies, while also revising their meaning. Thus, the practical function of the male body and its physical ability to impose men's dominance (Mishkind et al., 1986; E. H. Thompson & Pleck, 1995) is being increasingly replaced by a body aesthetic, sought after irrespective of actual bodily prowess (Rosenmann & Kaplan, 2014).

The preliminary nature of our findings notwithstanding, the proposed construct of consumer masculinity could pave the way for new empirical investigations and clinical application. Such future research could focus, for instance, on the discomfort many men express when confronted with the opposing pulls of traditional and consumer masculinity ideologies with regard to the way they should engage with their bodies (see e.g., Elliott & Elliott, 2005; Gill et al., 2005; Pompper, 2010). Because this confusion towards the male body seems to hamper many men's ability to verbalize their body concerns, it may detract further from their willingness to seek and receive mental health assistance (Shepherd & Rickard, 2012). Overall, the current studies point to a potentially fruitful avenue of research with respect to men's increasing preoccupation with their body. Because traditional masculinity cannot account for these changes, we must consider newer developments, such as the advent of consumer masculinity.

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¹ By "post-industrial societies", we refer to relatively affluent national economies, which no longer heavily depend on material production (of their industrial and agriculture sectors, for example). Given this overall affluence, the population's basic survival needs are generally met. Freed from subsistence concerns, individuals tend to devote their resources to less tangible pursuits of self-expression and actualization (e.g., Inglehart, & Baker, 2000).

² Two additional measures (sexism and new-manhood; see Kaplan et al., 2016) were also administered, but not reported here.

³ The translations from Hebrew to English were done by the 1st and 2nd authors, and assessed for clarity by the 3rd author as well as by several graduate students who contributed to the project.

⁴ More precisely, overall body shape discrepancy = $\sqrt{((\text{ideal figure column coordinate} - \text{actual figure column coordinate})^2 + (\text{ideal figure row coordinate} - \text{actual figure row coordinate})^2)}$

⁵ Because of predictor inter-correlations, collinearity was assessed, but did not present a problem in any of the models presented here, $VIF < 2.04$.

⁶ After exclusion of an outlier case.

⁷ Participants who indicated they were not familiar with the term, $n = 28$, were excluded from this analysis.

⁸ Further analyses separating fatness from musculature body shape discrepancies did not yield consistent findings either.

⁹ This figure could not be improved by omitting any of the 3 items.

¹⁰ Responses to the two probes were again recoded into quartiles and averaged ($r = .30$, $p < .01$).

¹¹ Because of the inter-correlations between predictors, collinearity was assessed, but did not present a problem in any of the models presented here, $VIF < 2.29$.

¹² After exclusion of 2 outlier cases.

¹³ Participants who indicated they were not familiar with the term; $n = 32$, and an outlier case were omitted.

¹⁴ After exclusion of an outlier case.

¹⁵ After exclusion of an outlier case.

¹⁶ After exclusion of an outlier case.

Table 1. The final Consumer Masculinity Inventory (CMI): Item wording, factor loading (Study 1) and λ in the constrained CFA* across Study samples

Item	Factor Loading (Study 1)	Constrained λ
1. Men should use the things they own to communicate to others who they are and who they want to become. ^a	.47	.50
2. Men should invest time and money in their personal aesthetic.	.58	.60
3. Men should demonstrate their refined taste by buying the right things.	.67	.66
4. Men should follow the media closely to keep on top of what's in style. ^b	.57	.57
5. Men should adopt a lifestyle that is up to date with global trends. ^c	.67	.66

Notes.
All p 's <.01.
* See also Appendix C.
^a Adapted from the "Conspicuous Consumption Scale" (O'Cass & McEwen, 2004); ^b Adapted from the "Significance of Media to Metrosexuality" subscale (Conseur et al., 2008); ^c Adapted from the measure of "Self-Identification With Global Consumer Culture" (Cleveland & Laroche, 2007).

Table 2. Hierarchical regression model predicting CMI scores (Study 1)

Predictor	β	t	p
Age	-.12	-1.53	.13
Marital Status	-.01	-0.10	.92
Educational Attainment	.08	1.10	.27
MRNS _{Status}	.22*	2.32	.02
MRNS _{Toughness}	.00	0.04	.96
MRNS _{Anti-Femininity}	.16†	1.87	.06
Materialist Values	.24*	3.26	<.01
Block Summary (2 nd Block)	$\Delta R^2=.22, F_{(4, 160)}= 11.78, p<.01$		
Model Summery	$R=.51, R^2_{adj}=.22, F_{(7, 160)}=7.85, p<.01$		

Notes.
* $p <.05$.
† $p <.10$.
CMI = Consumer Masculinity Inventory; MRNS = Male Role Norm Scale.

Table 3. Hierarchical regression models predicting behavioral investment in personal aesthetics and metrosexual self-labelling (Study 1)

Predictor	<u>Behavioral Investment</u>			<u>Metrosexual Self-Labelling</u>		
	β	t	p	β	t	p
Age	-.11	-1.25	.21	-.09	-0.98	.33
Marital Status	.06	0.76	.45	.16	1.92	.06
Educational Attainment	.07	0.96	.34	.01	0.17	.87
MRNS _{Status}	-.14	-1.34	.18	.12	1.14	.25
MRNS _{Toughness}	.04	0.36	.72	-.40*	-3.85	<.01
MRNS _{Anti-Femininity}	-.17†	-1.75	.08	-.10	-1.03	.30
Materialist Values	.12	1.43	.15	.02	0.22	.83
CMI	.31*	3.75	<.01	.36*	4.36	<.01
Block Summary (3 rd Block)	$\Delta R^2=.08, F_{(1, 160)}= 14.03, p<.01$			$\Delta R^2=.11, F_{(1, 137)}= 19.01, p<.01$		
Model Summery	$R=.38, R^2_{adj}=.10, F_{(8, 160)}=3.34, p<.01$			$R=.49, R^2_{adj}=.19, F_{(8, 137)}=5.31, p<.01$		

Notes.
* $p <.05$.
† $p <.10$.
CMI = Consumer Masculinity Inventory; MRNS = Male Role Norm Scale.

Table 4. Hierarchical regression models predicting ideal body shape fatness muscularity and body shape discrepancy (Study 1)

Predictor	Panel A: Predicting Ideal Body Shape Fatness						Panel B: Predicting Ideal Body Shape Muscularity					
	<u>2nd Block</u>			<u>3rd Block</u>			<u>2nd Block</u>			<u>3rd Block</u>		
	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Age	-.17	-1.98	.05*	-.18	-2.10	.04*	-.10	-1.14	.26	-.09	-1.05	.30
Marital Status	.16	1.89	.06 [†]	.15	1.82	.07 [†]	.05	0.66	.51	.06	0.73	.46
Educational Attainment	.09	1.13	.26	.10	1.30	.20	-.06	-0.82	.41	-.07	-0.96	.34
MRNS _{Status}	.18	1.68	.09 [†]	.21	1.97	.05 [†]	.02	0.18	.85	-.01	-0.06	.95
MRNS _{Toughness}	-.20	-1.85	.07 [†]	-.19	-1.81	.07 [†]	.29	2.76	.01*	.28	2.73	.01*
MRNS _{Anti-Femininity}	.01	0.10	.92	.03	0.34	.73	-.07	-0.70	.48	-.09	-0.90	.37
Materialist Values	-.17	-2.00	.05*	-.13	-1.55	.12	.12	1.46	.15	.09	1.09	.28
CMI				-.16	-1.87	.06 [†]				.13	1.54	.13
Block Summary	$\Delta R^2=.05, F_{(4, 161)}=2.15, p=.08$			$\Delta R^2=.02, F_{(1, 160)}= 3.49, p=.06$			$\Delta R^2=.10, F_{(4, 161)}=4.45, p<.01$			$\Delta R^2=.01, F_{(1, 160)}= 2.37, p=.13$		
Model Summery	$R=.33, R^2_{\text{adj}}=.06, F_{(8, 160)}=2.37, p=.02$						$R=.35, R^2_{\text{adj}}=.09, F_{(7, 161)}=3.23, p<.01$					

Panel C: Predicting Body Shape Discrepancy						
Predictor	<u>2nd Block</u>			<u>3rd Block</u>		
	β	t	p	β	t	p
Age	.08	0.95	.34	.09	1.00	.32
Marital Status	-.08	-0.98	.33	-.08	-0.94	.35
Educational Attainment	-.20*	-2.59	.01	-.21*	-2.65	.01
MRNS _{Status}	.05	0.52	.60	.04	0.39	.70
MRNS _{Toughness}	-.02	-0.21	.84	-.02	-0.23	.82
MRNS _{Anti-Femininity}	.05	0.58	.56	.05	0.47	.64
Materialist Values	.21*	2.63	.01	.20*	2.39	.02
CMI				.07	0.78	.44
Block Summary	$\Delta R^2=.06, F_{(4, 161)}=2.64, p=.04$			$\Delta R^2<.01, F_{(1, 160)}= 0.60, p=.44$		
Model Summery	$R=.35, R^2_{adj}=.08, F_{(7, 161)}=3.06, p<.01$					

Notes.

* $p < .05$.

† $p < .10$.

CMI = Consumer Masculinity Inventory; MRNS = Male Role Norm Scale.

Table 5. Hierarchical regression model predicting CMI scores (Study 2)

Predictor	β	t	p
Age	.24*	2.88	<.01
Marital Status	-.20*	-2.41	.02
Educational Attainment	.11	1.50	.14
MRNS _{Status}	.08	0.92	.36
MRNS _{Toughness}	-.02	-0.16	.87
MRNS _{Anti-Femininity}	.22*	2.45	.02
Materialist Values	.34*	4.64	<.01
Block Summary (2 nd Block)	$\Delta R^2=.23, F_{(4, 158)}= 12.57, p<.01$		
Model Summery	$R=.53, R^2_{adj}=.25, F_{(7, 158)}=8.69, p<.01$		

Notes.
* $p <.05$.
CMI = Consumer Masculinity Inventory; MRNS = Male Role Norm Scale.

Table 6. Hierarchical regression models predicting behavioral investment in personal aesthetics and metrosexual self-labelling (Study 2)

Predictor	<u>Behavioral Investment</u>			<u>Metrosexual Self-Labelling</u>		
	β	t	p	β	t	p
Age	-.08	-0.91	.37	.06	0.55	.58
Marital Status	.00	-0.04	.97	-.16	-1.62	.11
Educational Attainment	.01	0.10	.92	-.05	-0.61	.54
MRNS _{Status}	.07	0.73	.47	.15	1.33	.19
MRNS _{Toughness}	.01	0.13	.90	-.07	-0.54	.59
MRNS _{Anti-Femininity}	-.13	-1.41	.16	-.23*	-2.14	.03
Materialist Values	.02	0.24	.81	.08	0.84	.40
CMI	.41*	4.96	<.01	.28*	2.87	<.01
Block Summary (3 rd Block)	$\Delta R^2=.13, F_{(1, 159)}= 24.59, p<.01$			$\Delta R^2=.05, F_{(1, 126)}= 8.22, p<.01$		
Model Summery	$R=.42, R^2_{adj}=.14, F_{(8, 159)}=4.34, p<.01$			$R=.41, R^2_{adj}=.12, F_{(8, 126)}=3.23, p<.01$		

Notes.
* $p <.05$.
CMI = Consumer Masculinity Inventory; MRNS = Male Role Norm Scale.

Table 7. Hierarchical regression models (2nd block) predicting ideal body shape muscularity and body shape discrepancy (Study 2)

Predictor	<u>Predicting Ideal Body Shape Muscularity</u>			<u>Predicting Body Shape Discrepancy</u>		
	β	t	p	β	t	p
Age	-.06	-0.68	.50	-.04	-0.40	.69
Marital Status	.07	0.78	.44	.18 [†]	1.89	.06
Educational Attainment	.02	0.21	.84	-.04	-0.50	.62
MRNS _{Status}	-.07	-0.68	.50	-.19 [†]	-1.79	.08
MRNS _{Toughness}	.29*	2.62	.01	.03	0.27	.79
MRNS _{Anti-Femininity}	-.02	-0.24	.81	.21*	2.12	.04
Materialist Values	.06	0.67	.50	.20*	2.42	.02
CMI	—	—	—	—	—	—
Block Summary	$\Delta R^2=.07, F_{(4, 157)}=2.83, p=.03$			$\Delta R^2=.07, F_{(4, 157)}=3.20, p=.02$		
Model Summery	$R=.27, R^2_{adj}=.03, F_{(7, 157)}=1.73, p=.11$			$R=.30, R^2_{adj}=.05, F_{(7, 157)}=2.16, p=.04$		

Notes.
* $p < .05$.
[†] $p < .10$.
CMI = Consumer Masculinity Inventory; MRNS = Male Role Norm Scale.

Table 8. Hierarchical regression models predicting drive for muscularity and leanness, interest in 'Musclux', and self-objectification

Panel A: Predicting Drive for Muscularity							Panel B: Predicting Drive for Leanness					
Predictor	<u>2nd Block</u>			<u>3rd Block</u>			<u>2nd Block</u>			<u>3rd Block</u>		
	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Age	<.01	-0.02	.99	-.08	-0.94	.35	.06	0.68	.50	-.02	-0.20	.84
Marital Status	-.10	-1.18	.24	-.04	-0.45	.66	-.10	-1.16	.25	-.04	-0.50	.62
Education	-.08	-1.09	.28	-.12	-1.61	.11	.00	-0.03	.97	-.03	-0.42	.67
MRNS _{Status}	-.01	-0.09	.93	-.02	-0.21	.83	.13	1.29	.20	.12	1.24	.22
MRNS _{Toughness}	.15	1.47	.14	.10	1.05	.29	.25*	2.37	.02	.21*	2.10	.04
MRNS _{Anti-Femininity}	.08	0.93	.35	.04	0.41	.68	-.03	-0.27	.79	-.06	-0.72	.48
Materialist Values	.25*	3.11	<.01	.13	1.57	.12	.12	1.47	.14	<.01	-0.05	.96
CMI				.35*	4.29	<.01				.35*	4.37	<.01
Block Summary	$\Delta R^2=.13, F_{(4, 159)}= 6.14, p<.01$			$\Delta R^2=.09, F_{(1, 158)}= 18.42, p<.01$			$\Delta R^2=.15, F_{(4, 160)}=6.97, p<.01$			$\Delta R^2=.09, F_{(1, 159)}= 19.08, p<.01$		
Model Summery	$R=.50, R^2_{adj}=.22, F_{(8, 158)}=6.67, p<.01$						$R=.50, R^2_{adj}=.21, F_{(8, 159)}=6.54, p<.01$					
Panel C: Predicting Interest in 'Musclux'							Panel D: Predicting Self-Objectification					
Predictor	<u>2nd Block</u>			<u>3rd Block</u>			<u>2nd Block</u>			<u>3rd Block</u>		
	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Age	.08	0.93	.35	.05	0.50	.61	-.07	-0.78	.43	-.11	-1.26	.21
Marital Status	-.10	-1.05	.29	-.07	-0.71	.48	-.28*	-3.24	.00	-.25*	-2.88	<.01
Education	-.07	-0.92	.36	-.09	-1.07	.29	.14 [†]	1.83	.07	.12	1.64	.10
MRNS _{Status}	.30*	2.97	<.01	.29*	2.91	<.01	.01	0.06	.95	<.01	0.02	.99
MRNS _{Toughness}	-.13	-1.16	.25	-.15	-1.34	.18	-.08	-0.76	.45	-.10	-0.99	.32
MRNS _{Anti-Femininity}	-.06	-0.58	.56	-.08	-0.79	.43	.17	1.85	.07	.15	1.61	.11
Materialist Values	.21*	2.49	.01	.15 [†]	1.75	.08	.30*	3.84	<.01	.23*	2.83	.01
CMI				.17*	2.00	.05				.19*	2.41	.02
Block Summary	$\Delta R^2=.12, F_{(4, 155)}= 5.46, p<.01$			$\Delta R^2=.02, F_{(1, 154)}= 3.99, p=.05$			$\Delta R^2=.11, F_{(4, 158)}=5.62, p<.01$			$\Delta R^2=.03, F_{(1, 157)}= 5.82, p=.02$		

Model Summery

$R=.40, R^2_{\text{adj}}=.12, F_{(8, 154)}=3.62, p<.01$

$R=.50, R^2_{\text{adj}}=.21, F_{(8, 157)}=6.45, p<.01$

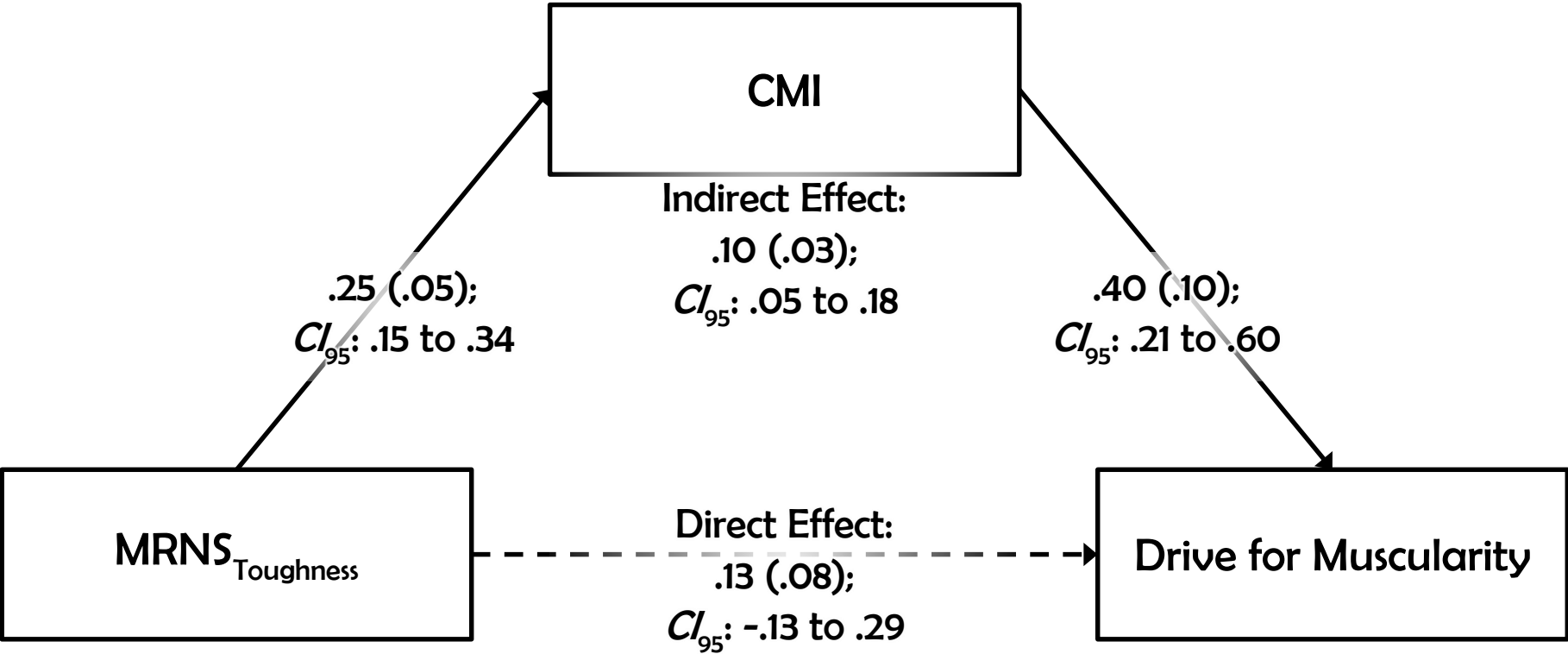
Notes.

* $p < .05$.

† $p < .10$.

CMI = Consumer Masculinity Inventory; MRNS = Male Role Norm Scale.

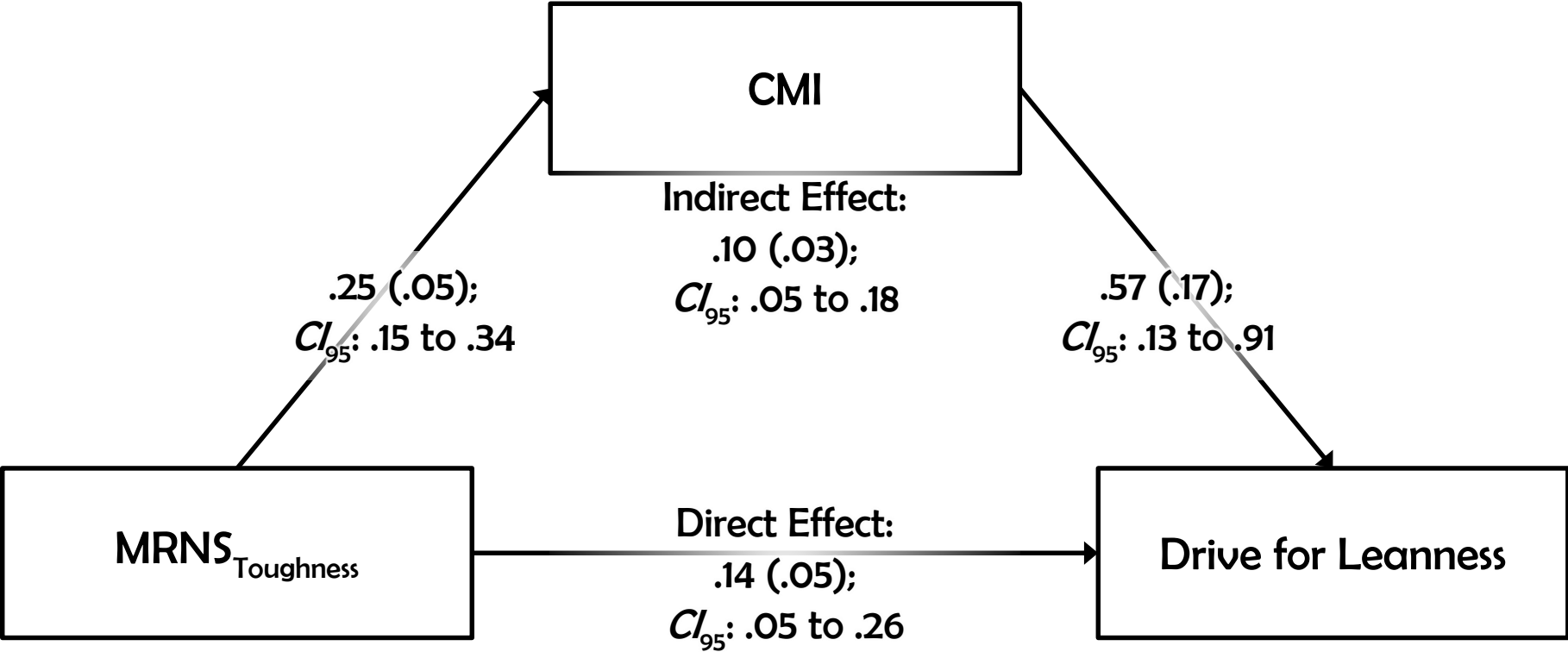
Figure 1. Bootstrap analysis of CMI mediation of MRNS_{Toughness} unique association with Drive for Muscularity



Notes.

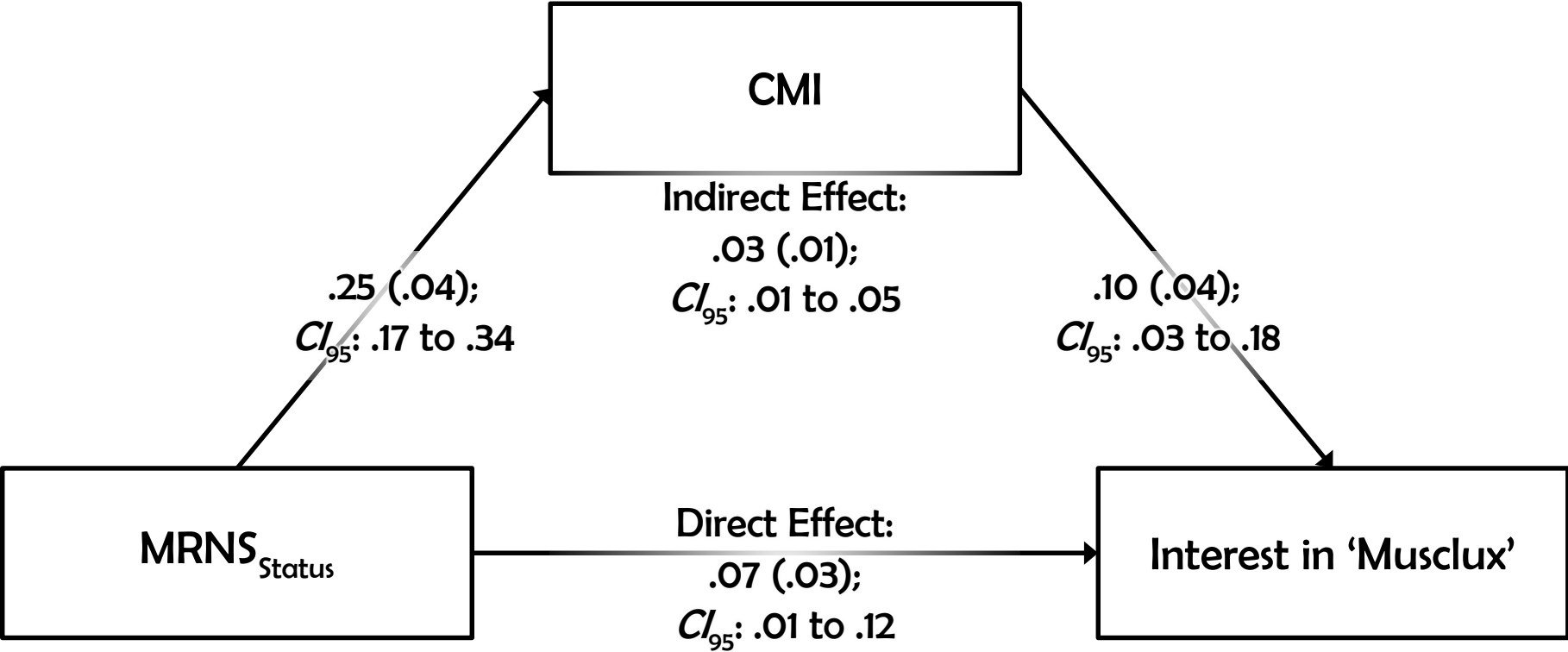
CMI = Consumer Masculinity Inventory; MRNS = Male Role Norm Scale.
Full lines represent significant ($p < .05$) paths; broken lines represent non-significant ($p > .05$) paths.

Figure 2. Bootstrap analysis of CMI mediation of MRNS_{Toughness} unique association with Drive for Leanness.



Notes.
CMI = Consumer Masculinity Inventory; MRNS = Male Role Norm Scale.
Full lines represent significant ($p < .05$) paths.

Figure 3. Bootstrap analysis of CMI mediation of MRNS_{Status} unique association with Interest in 'Musclux'.



Notes.
CMI = Consumer Masculinity Inventory; MRNS = Male Role Norm Scale.
Full lines represent significant ($p < .05$) paths.